

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 04807 01 OF 02 261654Z

41

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

( ISO ) W

----- 031808

O P 261640Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1339

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 04807

EXDIS

NOFORN

MOSCOW FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-L

TAGS: PFOR, UK , EEC, US

SUBJECT: BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON EUROPE:

CALLAGHAN'S DISCUSSION WITH BRITISH AMBASSADORS  
TO EC COUNTRIES

REF: BONN 4623

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN AFTERMATH OF MARCH 21-22 CALLAGHAN  
VISIT TO BONN, GERMAN PRESS HAS WIDELY REPORTED THAT  
FOREIGN SECRETARY IS "AGNOSTIC" ON EUROPEAN INTERGRATIONS  
FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN SECRETARY'S MARCH 20 CON-  
SULTATIONS IN LONDON WITH BRITISH AMBASSADORS TO  
OTHER EIGHT EC CAPITALS SUGGESTS THAT CALLAGHAN IS, IN  
WORDS OF A RELIABLE BRITISH EMBASSY SOURCE, "A HIGHLY  
SKEPTICAL AGNOSTIC." SOURCE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 04807 01 OF 02 261654Z

FULLY . END SUMMARY

1. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, CALLAGHAN TOOK THE FOLLOWING LINE ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION DURING ALL-DAY MARCH 20 LONDON TALKS WITH UK AMBASSADORS TO EIGHT OTHER EC MEMBER STATES.

2. CALLAGHAN SAID HE CONSIDERED EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND PLANS FOR ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION OR POLITICAL UNION TO BE - "MOONSHINE, JUST FANCY WORDS" - WHICH WILL NEVER BE REALIZED. MOREOVER, SUCH ARRANGEMENTS PROBABLY WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE FROM STANDPOINT OF UK NATIONAL INTERESTS, AS THEY COULD DEROGATE DANGEROUSLY FROM THE POWERS OF WESTMINSTER. OUR SOURCE SAID THE DISCUSSION WITH THE AMBASSADORS DEMONSTRATED THAT CALLAGHAN HAD LITTLE IDEA OF OR INTEREST IN DETAILS OF PLANS FOR EMU OR EUROPEAN UNION, AS HE DID NOT TAKE THESE IDEAS SERIOUSLY. CALLAGHAN ALSO APPEARED TO BE CONFUSED BY "SPURIOUS DISTINCTIONS" BETWEEN THE EEC AND THE POLITICAL COOPERATION OF THE NINE.

3. AS HE TOLD SCHEEL IN BONN, CALLAGHAN PROFESSED TO BE NEITHER PRO NOR ANTI-MARKETEER AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, BUT RATHER, INDICATED THAT HIS EVENTUAL JUDGMENT ON FUTURE BRITISH MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE BASED ON PRACTICAL ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS. SHOULD BRITAIN GET ITS WAY SUFFICIENTLY ON THE MAIN ECONOMIC ISSUES-- FINANCE, AGRICULTURE, REGIONAL FUND, ACCESS FROM THIRD MARKETS AND PROTECTION OF COMMONWEALTH INTERESTS----THEN COMMON MARKET WOULD ON BALANCE BE USEFUL. IF NOT, THEN RESULTS WOULD BE JUDGED UNEMOTIONALLY. CALLAGHAN PROCLAIMED HIMSELF TO BE "A SIMPLE MAN WHO IS INTERESTED PRIMARILY IN THE EFFECT OF UK MEMBERSHIP ON BRITISH HOUSEWIFE."

4. WHETHER OR NOT BRITAIN REMAINS IN EC, CALLAGHAN EXPECTS TO HAVE CLOSEST BILATERAL EUROPEAN TIES WITH GERMANY, WHOSE INTERESTS AND INCLINATIONS SEEM TO HIM TO CORRESPOND, FAR MORE THAN THOSE OF FRANCE, WITH

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 04807 01 OF 02 261654Z

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 04807 02 OF 02 261700Z

53

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 091895

O P 261640Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1340

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 04807

EXDIS

INTERESTS OF UK. INITIAL MEETING WITH JOBERT WILL BE AT APRIL 1-2 LUXEMBOURG SESSION OF EC COUNCIL; DATE FOR INITIAL BILATERAL ANGLO-FRENCH BILATERAL IS NOT YET FIXED, BUT PROBABLY WILL OCCUR LATER IN APRIL.

5. KEY RELATIONSHIP FOR UK IS WITH UNITED STATES AND NATO ALLIANCE IS FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF BRITISH SECURITY. CALLAGHAN PROCLAIMED HIMSELF UNABASHED BELIEVER IN TRANSATLANTIC CONNECTION IN GENERAL AND ANGLO-AMERICAN SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP IN PARTICULAR--WITH ALL THAT IMPLIES. NEXT TO U.S. CONNECTION, HE CONSIDERED EUROPEAN INTEGRATION TO BE "PLAYACTING--AND DANGEROUS DRAMA AT THAT." OUR SOURCE SAID BRITISH AMBASSADORS PRESENT CAME AWAY WITH IDEA THAT CALLAGHAN'S THINKING ON ATLANTIC AND EUROPEAN RELATIONS HAD BEEN ANCHORED IN TIME TO PRE-SUEZEPOCH .

6. CALLAGHAN HEARD OUT THE AMBASSADORS ON A NUMBER OF TOPICS, INCLUDING EC/ARAB DIALOGUE, ALTHOUGH OUR SOURCE SAID THE AMBASSADORS WERE VERY CAUTIOUS IN PRESSING MERITS OF BRITISH EC MEMBERSHIP. CALLAGHAN SAID THAT, ON BALANCE, DIALOGUE PROBABLY CONSTRUCTIVE WAY FOR EUROPEANS TO DEVELOP TIES WITH ARAB MIDEAST,  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 04807 02 OF 02 261700Z

AND THAT, IN VIEW OF BRITISH DEPENDENCE ON ARAB OIL, BRITISH VETO ON DIALOGUE NO LONGER A TENABLE ALTERNATIVE.

HOWEVER, EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE COULD NOT COMMENCE--  
BRITISH WOULD NOT LIFT ITS RESERVE--UNTIL ADEQUATE OVER-  
ALL U.S./EC CONSULTATION ARRANGEMENTS ACCEPTABLE TO  
WASHINGTON HAS BEEN DEVELOPED. INITIAL DELIVERY OF  
EC DEMARCHES TO NINETEEN ARAB CAPITALS AND SOMALIA  
WOULD BE HELD UP UNTIL THIS POINT. CALLAGHAN GAVE  
IMPRESSION THIS MIGHT TAKE ANOTHER MONTH OR SO.

7. IN COMMENTING ON ABOVE, SOURCE SAID KEY FCO CIVIL  
SERVANTS, WHO GENERALLY ARE STRONGLY PRO-EUROPEAN,  
SEEM TO BE OF TWO MINDS ABOUT CALLAGHAN'S REMARKS. SOME  
BELIEVE CALLAGHAN'S DISDAIN FOR EUROPEAN IDEA AND  
INDIFFERENCE TO PRINCIPLE OF BRITISH MEMBERSHIP WILL  
PLACE HIM IN EXCELLENT NEGOTIATING POSITION VIS-A-VIS  
FRANCE ON LONDON'S SPECIFIC ECONOMIC DEMANDS. OTHERS  
THINK COUNTERVAILING PRESSURES FROM FRANCE, BRITAIN AND  
UNITED STATES WILL "CRACK-UP THE COMMUNITY." FINALLY,  
OUR SOURCE SAID MANY FCO OFFICIALS FEAR THAT DENOUEMENT  
COULD BE A BRITAIN OUTSIDE OF THE COMMUNITY BUT, FOR  
THIS VERY REASON, A BRITAIN ALSO LESS ATTRACTIVE AS A  
PARTNER TO THE UNITED STATES. OUR SOURCE CONCLUDED BY  
SAYING FCO OFFICIALS ALSO WERE CONCERNED THAT ABOVE  
SCENARIOS COULD HAVE HIGHLY DELETERIOUS FALLOUT EFFECT  
ON NATO.  
HILLENBRAND

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MEMBERSHIP, FOREIGN RELATIONS, AIDE MEMOIRE, NEGOTIATIONS, ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, MEETINGS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, ECONOMIC INTEGRATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 26 MAR 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974BONN04807  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740071-0256, D740065-0105  
**From:** BONN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740316/aaaaaogp.tel  
**Line Count:** 194  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** BONN 4623  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01 APR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <01 APR 2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <05 JUN 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON EUROPE: CALLAGHAN'S DISCUSSION WITH BRITISH AMBASSADORS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, UK, US, XG, EEC, COMMITTEE OF NINE  
**To:** STATE MOSCOW  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005